The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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THE WORLD REVOLUTION

THE MONTH of August of 1936 bears a fearful, if superficial, resemblance to August of 1914. The murder of Calvo Sotello, the rightist deputy of the Cortes, by members of the government's Civil Guards, seems to have been the spark which ignited the flames of civil war in Spain, and it may yet prove to have been, like the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Serajevo, the spark of a vast world conflagration of war. At any rate, the dread possibility of such a development of the Spanish situation is obvious to all observers, as the ominous news comes pouring out of Europe relating the mass demonstrations in Russia in support of the Spanish Popular Front, and recording incidents which seem to prove the actual, if still clandestine, support of the Spanish rebels by Italy and Germany, and the acute concern of not only the Popular Front government of France, but also of the Right-wing forces in France which are in sympathy with the Right-wing counter-revolution in Spain. The anxiety of the British government is profound. A triumph for the Right-wing revolution in Spain, aided by Italy and Germany, would directly menace Great Britain's vital interests in the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the complete triumph of the Spanish Left might establish Communism definitely in Europe, and presage its extension from Spain into France.

In one primary factor, however, the European situation today differs from the 1914 situation. At that time national interests—even although these were vitally connected with economic interests: and, indeed, national and economic interests are always inseparable—were predominant. When the World War broke out, the social and class struggles which had been proceeding within all the nations were subordinated—as was so dramatically demonstrated by the various Socialist parties in Europe, which under the pressure of national

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patriotism abandoned their international attempts at class solidarity to fight for their own countries, on both sides of the battle-line. Only a small group of Communists, scattered throughout Europe, preserved their devotion to the ideal of international class unity, and under the leadership of Lenin this group finally captured Russia and inaugurated a new chapter in history, that of the world revolution. Events now proceeding would seem to indicate that the world revolution—an almost universal civil war—is now proceeding in Europe. The various military dictatorships erected to check and then to crush, if possible, this revolution—in Italy, Germany, Poland, Austria—form the model upon which the action of the Spanish Conservatives is formed. There is a similar, and powerful, and constantly growing movement of the same general type in France, and in Belgium, and the beginnings of similar groups are at work even in countries where liberal democracy still rules the political systems, however uncertainly or imperfectly. Upon the issue of this struggle depends the whole future of European society, and, indeed, of world society, for the universal revolution is actively at work in the Orient and in many Latin American countries, most apparently in Mexico; nor is our own country free from its influence.

Whatever the outcome is to be, the horrible destruction of churches and convents in Spain and the far more horrible slaughter of priests and nuns by the desperate elements armed and turned loose by the Spanish government, must inevitably draw to the support of the Right-wing counter-revolution hosts of non-Catholics as well as Catholics, throughout the threatened world. If it now must be a choice of evils, the choosing between Communism and Fascism, between the tyranny and terror wielded by Communism and the tyranny and terror of a conservative counter-revolution, the choice of a conservative reaction will be made, we think, by most western peoples.

It would seem that international Communism, by its high superiority in its intellectual leadership over nearly all other political groups, has been able to assume the direction of the many diverse parties in Spain which, as in France, make up the Popular, or United Fronts, of Socialists, Anarchists, Liberal Democrats, and (so-called) Constitutional Republicans, which control the governments in both those countries. Into the Popular Front of Spain, the Communists, and the Anarcho-Syndicalists, entered as "legal parties." At the election which brought the Popular Front into power, in February of this year, there were 9,402,513 votes cast. Of this total, 4,570,744 were for Right-wing, or Center, anti-Marxism, or Conservative, candidates. The votes cast for the Popular Front candidates were less than those given to their opponents, being 4,356,559, the scattered vote outside the two main groups being 481,210. According to this voting, then, nearly 50 percent of the Spanish electorate repudiated the Popular Front, and slightly more than 46 percent approved it. But by better political strategy the Left Wing won a majority of seats in the new Cortes. In commenting upon the result, the Catholic daily, *El Debate,* declaring that the Cortes represented the whole country, nearly equally divided between the two main groups, pleaded strongly that as the capacity of Spain for democracy was on trial before the world, "the duty of the Cortes [or Congress], as controlled by its Left majority, was to respect the minority."

Today, *El Debate* has disappeared, suppressed by the government. And the democratic experiment has also completely disappeared. The more extreme elements of the Popular Front have brushed aside the moderate forces which they joined merely to make use of in the process of seizing power. Largo Cabellero, one of the most forceful of the Left-wing leaders, made no secret of his purpose to unite with other extremists to employ the authority of the supposedly national government to overthrow violently the whole framework of existing institutions—in particular, the Church—and to inaugurate a state of terror that would be the prelude to the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. The challenge was accepted by the Right Wing which, according to its foes, was in any case preparing itself for a counter-revolution. And now the war is on—a civil war, which may extend itself far beyond Spain. For war in Europe would in truth be a civil war—a fratricidal struggle between classes within each country, as well as with exterior enemies.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

IT IS safe to say that never before have drought conditions so affected the American community as now. Crop reports, when altered into concrete and readily imaginable things, are more awesomely fascinating than anything we have been called upon to read during Mr. Roosevelt's administration. They indicate that at a time when unemployment is rampant the cost of living is bound to affect adversely literally millions of homes. They tell us that while some sections will find agriculture a more profitable enterprise than usual, the great majority of farmers in drought areas will require the same kind of aid given to sufferers from floods or earthquakes. The indirect effect upon all other industries will be tremendous. There is no doubt that huge imports of foodstuffs will be necessary. Four years ago, the nation was storing such huge surpluses of various farm commodities that the best students

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of farm problems urged curtailment; and as a result AAA came into being, with its mingled blessings and questionable results. Today we find ourselves in crucial need of a policy radically different from that adopted by the administration. Tariff barriers must be lowered immediately to prevent actual starvation, political difficulties notwithstanding. This startling reversal is, of course, not a proof that the government's production control program was wholly wrong. But it does indicate that our "planning" is by no means sufficiently flexible. We have not learned how to stop doing one thing quickly and to begin doing another. Perhaps we could not if we really wanted to, so rigid are the lines of demarcation between federal and state authority. As matters are, one can only conclude that nature has made fools of us all.

SPAIN'S bloody revolution marks the high tide of a revolution which is sweeping all Europe to a destiny as yet incalculable. The issue is not whether the land of the hidalgos is to play this or that rôle in European politics. In all probability the outcome, regardless of which side wins, will be a weakened and impoverished country. The issue is rather what sort of political philosophy is to prevail. And so important is this to the whole continent that we have witnessed quarrels between France and Italy, and between Germany and Russia, concerning the aid to be given the combatants. The French suggestion that a general neutrality agreement be arrived at speedily is in keeping with diplomatic precedent more than a hundred years old that a "war of opinion" be prevented at all costs. But today such a war is more difficult to avoid than ever before, because the opposed philosophies—regardless of the nationalism in which each finds expression—really do cut across national boundaries. Marxism has its devoted followers in all countries; Fascism has similar defenders. Each side uses national power to gain ideological ends to an extent not witnessed since the wars between Christians and Turks. It seems as if Europe were really struggling toward an alignment of powers on a basis not of the last war but of "opinions." How outmoded now is the belief of Count Brockdorff that Russia could become Germany's ally, or the Dmowski vision of Poland as the eastern rampart of democracy! The change is so sinister because one great dampener of war feeling is being removed. What could either France or Germany gain by resorting to conflict? But Marxists and Fascists can both reap something—in the success of a cause. If the struggle they are now fighting out in Spain were to extend to the continent as a whole, it would really mean the end of European civilization to an extent not easily conceived. A whole generation might see no peace.

Bread upon the Waters

THE ELABORATE petition to the League of Nations, repeating and supplementing the recommendations made last year by James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany, will probably do little to protect the German Jews and other minorities it is designed to assist. Although carefully worked out by international lawyers and based on a quantity of historical precedents, featuring John Hay's "Rumanian note" proclaiming foreigners' rights to protest the treatment of Rumanian Jews, it undoubtedly takes a more civilized view of sovereignty than the nations of today admit. The petition shows that in three indisputable ways—"the forced emigration of thousands of individuals . . . the denationalization of thousands of individuals . . . the attempt to exercise extraterritorial criminal jurisdiction"—the Reich's treatment of her own nationals directly harms other sovereign states. The petition claims, but does not press the point, that the League should treat the problem also on humanitarian grounds. At this time, however, when Germany is preparing to take the high seat among the distraught nations at Locarno, when she is doing what she pleases about the Spanish revolution and when she is not even bothering to modify her racist propaganda for the thousands of visiting athletes and newsmen, the petition looks a rather frail gesture. Germany is just about the most sovereign nation that ever rattled a sword over Europe. But the American and French sponsors of the petition deserve credit for their allegiance to the better, if at present almost hopelessly reactionary, traditions of the West. We hope the unnamed country will present it to the League in September, and we hope some sponsors will persuade some nation to give the League a similar thought about minorities in other countries, such as Mexico.

Interfering Sovereignties

THE GATHERING of some 6,000 delegates at the twenty-second annual meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and the Superior Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, held recently in Seattle, was a sign of the Rock of Faith that in a world terribly unstable seems to us well worth observing. Here were these great numbers of the hierarchy, of priests, of nuns, of Brothers and of laymen assembled to consider how they might alleviate suffering as a hard, self-sacrificing labor undertaken for the love of God and their fellow men. They were not utopians; they faced realities, and back on the firing-line of the struggle against dire human distress, they gird their souls with prayer and face the most difficult realities day in and day out. At this conference, its president, at the opening session, said: "Child welfare

Catholic Charities

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will continue to be the most absorbing interest in Catholic Charities in the future. Catholic efforts in this field will be increased rather than diminished." This fundamental, so beautifully expressed in one of its aspects by Catholic devotion through the ages, through dark and turbulent periods as well as the calmer times, to the Infant Jesus and the Madonna and the patient, kindly, practical Saint Joseph, was stressed repeatedly by other speakers. Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago, leader of the Catholic Youth Organization in the Midwest, saw children and their parents as the muddled inheritors of "a crazy-quilt civilization." He saw in the straightening of homes according to everlasting moral truths, the necessary groundwork for a stable continuity of human effort that will leaven the whole social order with its goodness. The Reverend James E. Dolan, diocesan director of the Catholic Youth Organization of Los Angeles, seconded this with the warning that the responsibilties could not be dumped upon a totalitarian state, and Miss Jane M. Hoey, director of the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board in Washington, urged that it become a part of public consciousness that it is much cheaper—not only in money but also in human suffering—"to concentrate on prevention than to pay for social disorders at the end of the road." The Good Samaritans of Catholic charity are for the proved essentials of prevention, and are to be found where they are needed most, all along the road.

THERE has been little news of an amusing nature coming out of Palestine in a long time. However, we think that it is permissible to relax for a moment of appreciation at the dispatch describing the device used by Arabs to decoy the British troops away from Jerusalem when their plans would be embarrassed by the presence there of the military police. It is said that they secured great numbers of tortoises, and after fastening lighted candles on their backs, turned them loose on the historic mountains outside of the Holy City. On Ebal and Gerizim, therefore, there appeared a strange concourse of lights moving in the darkness. Profoundly impressed, the Jerusalem garrison finally went forth on a tour of investigation, leaving their room instead of their undesired company—exactly the effect which had been aimed at, of course. Though worthy of a better cause, this ingenuity cannot be called by any other name. It deserves to take its place beside the other military tricks of history and legend, which continue to please the imagination long after the struggles that called them forth are forgotten. It was no more crafty to set Birnam Wood moving toward Dunsinane, or to fire the foxes' tails and let them loose among the Philistines' grain. It is the kind of thing one can't help hoping happened, no matter on what side one's sympathies are enlisted.

One for the Legends

DEBATE on the British and American police systems is furthered interestingly by an article in *Harper's*, "The Lesson of Scotland Yard," from the pen of Robert H. Hutchinson, an American domiciled in England. Its approach is unusual in that it does not stress the differences between the police methods of the two countries. American experts studying the procedure of Scotland Yard, says Mr. Hutchinson, have been led "to swap points on technicalities and come to the conclusion that the two methods were not so very different after all. The result has been that from that . . . splendid and efficient system of policing . . . we have learned practically nothing." England's special contribution to the police problem, he contends, has been social and psychological rather than technical. Sound instinct has told her that the most important thing about a policeman is that he be trusted by the public. He is the representative of the government with whom the public comes oftenest in contact; and if they are to support and respect the government, he must be universally known to be not only incorruptible but also restrained and mannerly to the last degree possible within the limits of his job. He is selected and trained for courtesy and trustworthiness. As a result, he does not dare, even if he wished, to risk his reputation by taking a bribe; moreover, "when a thug looks at a Bobby, he knows that the whole nation stands behind that officer of the law *and likes him*."

For Politer Policemen

IT WOULD not be fair to speak as though this conception of the policeman as the most concrete and omnipresent, and hence in a sense the most important, representative of the law had never been held in our country. Many civic leaders, many police commissioners, have seen and said exactly this thing. Many formulations have been made of the need for a police which is friendly and uniformly polite, which is impersonal and controlled in the execution of even its most drastic duties, which is beyond the reach of bribery or "influence." But it cannot be denied, we think, that the "frontier psychology" which Mr. Hutchinson mentions, as it has often been mentioned before, still plays a large part in the problem; nor that corrupt politics too often enters the picture, to the detriment of police morale. The instinctively lawless citizen, who regards the agencies of order and legal control as outside his life, if not actually hostile to it, is in unfortunate partnership with the policeman who is prone, by way of response, to show his "authority," or who betrays his duty through self-interest or political fear.

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THE RAINY DAY HOAX

By GEORGE K. McCABE

Are the surplus earnings accumulated by industries during good times used to maintain stable employment during periods of trouble? In the following paper Professor McCabe replies in the negative. He argues that such use would be both financially and economically unwise, since liquidity and abstention from plant expansion programs are normal. Experience, he contends, shows that hoarded earnings have had no bearing on employment and also little effect upon dividend payments.—The Editors.

SHALLOW defeatists who cry down the fame of the captain of industry for originality and ingenuity merely because he turned to the government for aid in his battle with the forces of depression, should credit him with the daring and imagination recently displayed in the arguments marshaled against the tax on corporate surplus. The pyrotechnics of the publicity engineer and plant economist have enlivened the financial pages for months. Admittedly, the response of the legislators, accustomed to pedestrian fact and figure, was disappointing, for the bill was passed. Nevertheless, two of the whimseys of the campaign will live on. Repetition and wide circulation have convinced the public that these two assumptions of the financier are irrefutable verities of financial management and right living.

The first of these contentions is: large companies used their hoarded earnings to maintain employment of their faithful hands during the bleak years of the depression. The second hypothesis is: employment, during those years, was in part sustained by the unearned dividends paid to stockholders and disbursed by them in maintaining their standard of living. These dividends were made possible, we are told, by earnings laid away in flush years for just this purpose.

The refutation of the contention that earned surplus makes for stability of employment may conveniently be subdivided into three parts by considering the feasibility of such a use of treasured earnings, first from the financial managers' point of view, secondly by treating the economic aspects of the scheme, and finally by investigating the record of what actually was done with the funds in question.

To have earned surplus to make work in 1931 or 1932 would have been impractical from the point of view of the financial manager of a corporation, because the net incomes of previous years had in many cases not been liquid, but had been reinvested largely in plant and equipment; furthermore the chairman of the finance committee could not sensibly plan on expansion programs in the face of a major depression of uncertain duration; finally, the net income had been withheld from the stockholders in flush times mainly for the important purpose of easing the financial management of the company during a depression. These funds had been reserved to make it possible for the company officials to sit back during the dull years with ample cash in the treasury to "ride out" the depression, and to do so without having to make all the unpleasant adjustments which go with a rapid deflation, such as: wage and salary cuts, price concessions, running after small orders, more office and less golf.

Even though ease of financial management as an important aspect of corporate accumulations be ignored, still the whole argument for the use of corporate funds to maintain employment is patently an afterthought of the financier, for every sophomore in "Economics I" knows that during a period of depression, at least as long as recession is the order of the day, some capitalists "keep liquid." They keep a firm hold on cash and government bonds, so as to be in a position to take advantage of the many bargains which appear with the upturn. Surely, the members of finance committees who today are publicizing the employment maintenance hoax would have ridiculed the idea that funds put aside to ease the financial management of their companies during the years of slack business should be consumed in the elaboration of the fixed assets of those concerns.

From the economic point of view, expansion of plant and equipment during a depression is equally unwise. The risks involved more than offset any advantage anticipated from low costs of labor and materials, because several years of depressed business conditions were clearly in prospect even in 1931. However sanguine directors may have been about the rebound of their companies from the trough of depression, they would have been derelict in their duty if they had undertaken in 1931-1932 to put up additional buildings or to install equipment in anticipation of potential demand three to seven years in the future. Consider the deterrents to such foolhardy practise: the cost of labor involved in such an expansion program may well have been deflated, but the manufacturers of building materials, factory and mill equipment do not reduce their prices in conformity with the decline in the index of wholesale prices. However, assuming that they had made substantial price concessions in the early days of

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the depression, nevertheless the interest, taxes and depreciation, not to mention the risk of obsolescence in an era of rapid change, would have made plant expansion a wild speculation. Furthermore, there was the risk, as long as the price level was falling, that the cost of the expansion might be lower in a year or two. Inasmuch as the general price level did not reach the lowest point until 1933, the directors of an electric light company or rolling mill had no basis for believing costs of construction in 1931 or 1932 were the "all-time lows."

In the available record of what was done with corporate funds during the years of enforced idleness, there is almost no evidence that hoarded earnings constituted a make-work fund. In fact this philanthropic policy was conjured up by the public relations engineers when the taxation of undistributed corporated income was proposed last winter. A search of a large number of corporate reports to test this generalization disclosed only two concerns—the Inland Steel Company and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company—which made an effort to maintain employment by the expansion of plant or the speeding up of maintenance programs during 1931 or 1932. The Telephone Company made work for 10,000 employees during 1931 by speeding up the change-over from the manual to the dial type of operation. Nevertheless, the number on the payroll declined during the year 1931 by 50,000 or by about 12½ percent, despite a decline of only 2½ percent in gross revenues in the same period. In the other case, maintenance of employment was one of the objectives in the building of a large steel mill in 1931.

Further evidence on this question was sought in the reports of the Research and Planning Division of the NRA ("Charts on Major Industries under the Operation of the N.I.R.A.," Washington, D. C., February, 1935). The data available for seven industries show that the decline in the number of man hours worked corresponds very closely with the decline in the physical volume of output. Thus the confusion of the number employed and the man hours worked is removed. These employers did spread the work over a large number of part-time employees, but there is no evidence of the creation of jobs before 1933.

Lest I appear to disparage the efforts of the managers of many large industrial plants to ameliorate the hardships of prolonged unemployment, let it be said that in many cases they provided relief for regular employees, not by mixing charity and business, but by the payment of unemployment benefits. For example, during the worst period of unemployment, in the Pittsburgh district, the steel companies provided relief for 20,000 families.

Although there is more support for the assertion that corporations used earned surplus to pay depression dividends than there is for the make-work argument, nevertheless the unearned-dividend-payment argument is only a partial truth because earned surpluses were used only to an insignificant extent to maintain dividend payments during the depression. Several of the largest concerns, such as International Harvester, Pennsylvania Railroad, are given great praise for having continued a "handout" of $.50 or $.60 per year after they had ceased to earn even that modest amount per share. But most of those which had withheld so much during the palmy days stopped paying common dividends altogether, and with scarcely an explanation of their inability to use the "rainy day" reserves. Hudson Motor Company paid $7,500,000 unearned dividends from earned surplus of $35,000,000; Sears, Roebuck had $110,000,000 in earned surplus when the common stock dividends were discontinued. The thrifty International Harvester Company had an earned surplus of $45,000,000 and net current assets of $216,000,000 when the dividend was cut to 25 percent of the regular payment. The earned surplus of the United States Steel Corporation stood at $421,000,000 (December 31, 1931), when the last common stock dividend was declared. Net current assets were $434,000,000 at that time. It is only fair to list the principal payers of large unearned dividends during recent years: American Telephone and Telegraph, Union Pacific, Pullman, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Westinghouse Air Brake, the Texas Corporation.

It may be said in conclusion on dividend policies during the depression, that in general, and regardless of the amount of the earned surplus, or the cash available, American corporations paid dividends on the common stock at the regular rate for only one year after the dividends had ceased to be earned. Preferred stockholders were paid the regular amounts for not more than two years.

The financial record shows that the companies which paid the usual dividend during 1932 and 1933 were in the list of those which were earning at that time enough to cover payments to the common stockholders. The industries which serve the consumer directly with the essentials of even a somewhat impaired standard of living, fared as well, by and large, during those two years as they had during the "boom" period. These numerous and prominent concerns are confused in the public mind with the little group of six or seven corporations whose directors had the courage to pay substantial unearned dividends on the common stock.

In conclusion it may be said that whatever the merits of the case against the graduated surtax—7 percent to 27 percent—on the undistributed net income of corporations, passed in the last session of Congress, those two frauds on the public intelligence, the employment reserve and the dividend reserve arguments, should be retired to the laissez-faire museum.

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THE CAVE OF ADULLAM

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

NATIONAL political leaders, drawing upon the lessons of experience, are working hard trying to find out which party will be most damaged in November by the Lemke third party. So, for a different reason, are the political writers whose analyses of the progress of campaigns have come to be a feature of them analogous to those of the war correspondents in another kind of campaign. Both leaders and analysts, in this canvass, show a tendency at this stage to do their calculating on insufficient premises, which, if they keep it up, may result in errors dangerous for the leaders and mortifying for the analysts.

This tendency goes toward trying to estimate the extent to which the Townsend-Coughlin-Huey Long combination will draw from "the Democrats" and from "the Republicans." So far as it goes, that is all right, but it does not go deep enough. It also goes toward a comparison with other such uprisings in the past, and here the mistake is in drawing morals from uprisings which rose under entirely different circumstances and therefore supply no clue at all this year.

To begin with, the Lemke movement is an omnibus capitalization of all collectible forms of discontent, discontent with anything of any kind. It is an appeal to everybody who is dissatisfied with anything, and as all dissatisfied elements have different things to be dissatisfied with, this kind of appeal has to be catholic, divergent, universal and inconsistent. When "David departed thence and escaped to the cave Adullum," the Book of Samuel records that he drew to that cave every man who was out of work, out of luck, or, in short, had a grouch against anybody or anything, and all those inharmonious kickers banded together under David's leadership. But it will be remembered that David's queer conglomeration worked frightful havoc in the politics of the Farleys and Hamiltons in Israel.

Discontent is of no party. It is human nature to blame the government for a flattened purse. This is why President Hoover was turned out in 1932. If President Roosevelt is beaten now, this will again be why. As everybody with a flattening pocket-book ascribes it to a different governmental misdeed, the Lemke appeal is a carry-all, a university of incongruous discontents, incongruous cures, incongruous points of attack.

In trying to figure who will be most damaged by it, the estimating is done on too simple a basis. It is too simple to count Republican and Democratic noses and to get reports on what sections of the country in which discontent is rife are Republican and what parts are Democratic. When, for instance, inquiry is made into discontent among farmers, "the farmers" always mean the Western ones, and Western farmers are of Republican antecedents. "Labor" means, in the political dictionary, the cities, which are mostly Democratic. Calculations of this kind settle down into a balancing of discontented Republicans against discontented Democrats and to getting information about which element is the larger. This method is so simple as to be dangerously misleading.

Reduced to its lowest terms, it means getting reports on the number of voters in a given section who were Republicans in 1932, how many were Democrats, and what proportion in each party is now so discontented as to be open to the Adullam appeal. But it is no longer, as in past campaigns, merely a question of party fealties at the breaking point. Taking Republican prospects for illustration, it is not now simply a question of how many Republicans who would otherwise vote for Landon will be tempted astray by the Lemke will-o'-the-wisp. It is now a question of how many Republicans who would otherwise vote for Roosevelt may be tempted to follow the marsh-light.

At once it will be seen what is involved in the answer. If the first of the questions I have just summarized were considered alone, it would point to Republican losses, provided there is any great marsh-light seduction of Republicans. If the other question is considered, it points to Democratic losses in November. Why? Because it was Republican votes which elected Roosevelt in 1932; because he could not have been elected without them; because there are not enough Democrats in the country to elect a President, as every election since 1896 has proved; because Roosevelt must hold those Republicans who were discontented enough to vote for him in 1932, or at least hold enough of them, or he is lost.

It goes without saying that not all the discontented Republicans who forsook their party and voted for Roosevelt in 1932 were intelligently discontented. As the rain falls on the just and unjust alike, so discontent stirs alike the rational and the irrational. Some of the bolting Republicans of 1932 bolted hard-headedly, some mushy-mindedly. The latter are as mushy-minded now as then, and to them the Adullam appeal may seem alluring.

Therefore the important thing, in laying a foundation for Republican figuring, is to find out how many of those who bolted Hoover in 1932 may be marsh-lighted into Lemkeism in November. It is so important that an answer to that

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question may transform what looked like Republican loss into sure Democratic loss; not in party membership, but in electoral votes this year.

I have chosen Republican calculations because that situation ought to be obvious as soon as it is stated. The principle, however, applies equally to Democratic calculations. The Democrats should waste no pencils figuring how many Republicans and independents they can add to those they got in 1932, for those who stuck to Hoover in spite of the panic and his unpopularity were the irreducible minimum; they should figure on how many they can hold onto that they got then.

The other mistake to which I referred at the beginning is drawing conclusions from previous third party movements. That would have been sensible figuring in other years, but not in this. The Lemke movement is not the excrescence of merely "hard times," "poor business," or other names which symbolize such unrest as that which ended, in 1884, the Republican party's post-Civil War lease of the White House. It is the outgrowth of a financial wreckage going not only as close to the individual as a great war does, but closer, in the sense of afflicting more individuals.

None of the third party movements usually examined for comparison is comparable, therefore, for none arose from any such all-pervading cause. The one usually brought up for comparison is the LaFollette-Wheeler third party, in 1924. There is no resemblance. That movement was not launched in a time of general economic disaster, but in the first year of "Coolidge prosperity," of the big business boom of the 1920's. Such success as it had was mainly in one class, the Western farmers, who were already getting a foretaste of 1929. The rest of the country was doing prodigiously well. Yet LaFollette and Wheeler got more than half as many votes as the Democratic candidate, Davis, and thirteen electoral votes. Nevertheless, Coolidge was elected by a majority over the combined votes for LaFollette and Davis.

The LaFollette movement of 1924 has no lesson for 1936; this, though it was endorsed both by organized labor and by the Socialist party. Theodore Roosevelt's third party in 1912 was also launched in a time of prosperity, though not of swollen prosperity as the 1924 one was. So with the other third party movements that dot political history. To find one which does furnish some sort of basis for comparison, the analysts, political and journalistic, will have to hunt up one which started in a time of depression in business and unemployment in the labor ranks.

It can be found. The last great depression resulted from what was called "the Cleveland panic of 1893." The name was a misnomer, for the panic, which began when President Cleveland took office, was the culmination of a depression beginning in the administration of his predecessor. It was not until 1893 that the banks began to fail, but business and labor were suffering already under Harrison and, as always in such cases, blamed it on the President. It was in Harrison's administration that the party of discontent called the Populist was born. By 1892 it reached such immensity that its candidate, General James Baird Weaver, carried a number of states and got twenty-two electoral votes. This figure does not represent the real Populist strength, for the states they carried had relatively small electoral votes and were outweighed by the great electoral votes of states further east. It will convey a better idea of it to say that Weaver's popular vote was nearly one-fifth that of Cleveland and bore a similar proportion to Harrison's.

As Cleveland got only 16,000 more votes than in 1888 (when he was defeated by Harrison), it is evident that Weaver got the votes of all the discontented who voted at all; the Republican vote fell off 264,000, so a great many discontented Republicans certainly stayed home on election day. These last two facts are especially worth study by the political prophets of 1936, since the causes of the vote for Weaver resemble in a general way the causes of Lemke's strength. Weaver, however, was a distinguished man, well known to the whole nation for many years, and a magnificent campaigner, and his aims were consistent with each other, all of which is more than can be said of Lemke.

As the panic began with Cleveland's term, the full fury of unemployed labor and stagnant business fell on him.. The Populists expected to win or at least approach victory in 1896. But they were seduced by Bryan's nomination into endorsing him; the full strength of discontent was marshaled under his banner, and the Populist party was lost from that moment and its voters permanently merged in the Democratic party. Here, in 1892 and 1896, is your analog, Messrs. Analysts; not perfect, of course, but the only case in history which gives any material whatever for comparison.

The other depressions of the past were not vast enough to compare with the present time, except that in Van Buren's administration. Of course, as usual, the people blame the President for it, though it began as soon as he took office and had been coming through the administration of his predecessor, who left him heir to it; but no one thought of blaming the departing Jackson, for he was not in office. Van Buren was overwhelmingly defeated in 1840 because of it, but not by any third party. The idea that all economic ills can be abolished and the New Jerusalem brought on earth by a new political party had to wait for birth until Harrison and Cleveland, and has waited until 1936 to reach its flower, the combination of a hodge podge of heterogeneous and irreconcilable cure-alls in one omnibus or blanket cornucopia. The Populist appeal was not a hodge-podge.

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OLYMPICS THEN

By ARNOLD LUNN

WE SAT and shivered in the stands waiting for the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympic Games. Suddenly through the driving snow a procession appeared, headed by the Greek team. The Greek standard dips in salute to one who would have been more at home in Sparta than in Athens. Hitler returns the salute, and the Greeks are followed by the Belgians, the Bulgarians and so on in alphabetical order to Turkey. A German reads the Olympic Oath, which was not an oath but an affirmation, and from the brazier decorated not with a Greek frieze but with that modern vulgarism, the Olympic rings, a fitful flame burns up into a flurry of snow, and the Olympic beacons on the hills repeat the Olympic fire.

Fire, driving snow and wind.

And then suddenly Greece comes back in a wave of memory.

The blue Mediterranean awakening to her summer dreams, a rocky creek in Delos and a dive through a shimmer of warm air into the Aegean, the wind sighing through the pines of Olympia, the aridity of Greek hills in August and the sunset which softens and subdues them, the web of twilight which makes of tawny cliffs a mystery of changing tones, and the immense depth of the purple night, pricked with the same stars which guided Odysseus over this tideless sea. . . .

And there is the Olympic fire feebly flickering through a smother of falling snow.

The nostalgia of the south had asserted its power on me, and I rebelled against the absurdity of linking these parvenu games with "the glory that was Greece." What was there of Greece in Garmisch?

There was a Greek banner in the place of honor and a Greek team of three. Nobody has set a slalom on Parnassus or built a jumping hill on Olympus, and the compliment to Greece began and ended with the place accorded to the Greek competitors in the procession. The Garmisch *Tages-Program* lies before me as I write, no hint of Greece in its pages. The Greeks disliked mountains and detested snow, but the cover of the *Tages-Program* was adorned with a snowscape and the Olympic Medal was a relief of the Altspitz. Why not a reproduction of Myron's discobolos thrower for the former and any one of a thousand designs from Greek coins or amphora for the latter?

The international Olympic Committee are not responsible for the designs on the Olympic medals, but it would be as easy for them to insist that the design should suggest Greece, and the motto be in the Greek language, as to decree that the medals should be gold-plated and not gold, a tasteless economy for which the international Committee, and not the German Committee, were solely responsible. The international Committee might at least have vetoed a Latin motto (*Citius altius fortius*) on these gold-plated Olympic medals. A Periclean speech provides an appropriate motto, "We cultivate beauty with economy."

Perhaps those who approved the Latin motto felt that Greek and Latin were dead languages, and that there is nothing much to choose between one corpse and another. Probably they had forgotten that Greece had been conquered, and that nothing therefore could be more infelicitous than inscribing a Greek medal with a motto from that Roman speech which was as hateful to the Greeks of Olympia as the Rumanian language is hateful today to the Hungarians in Rumania.

In this same *Tages-Program* the Olympic Oath was printed in German, in French and in English, but not in Greek. Surely the Greek word *aidos,* which means less than *chevalresque* or *ritterlich,* but a great deal more than "sporting," might have been used throughout as a substitute for these three words. The Greek language most decidedly had no *Ehrenkarte* for the games at Garmisch.

The Olympic Committee have done nothing to justify their claim to have revived a great Greek festival. Could they do anything? I wonder. I have sometimes toyed with the thought that the Olympic Committee might do something to arrest the rapid disappearance of classics from modern education. A gold medal awarded on the combined result of an athletic event and an oral competition in Greek would be rather fun. I should like Mr. C. B. Fry, sometime scholar of Wadham, to report the event. He would do it rather well.

"I'm going to enjoy this. It's fun. The sky as blue as Greece, and I like the *mens sana in corpore sano* of a fine all-round team. The scholar-athletes. That's the type we want to breed.

"England wins the toss and goes in to translate. How's the pitch playing? That Cicero speech is going to give trouble before it comes through the mangle as Greek. Hullo, here's Bob Lexton of Balliol. Craven scholar and double Blue. Steady, Bob, play yourself in. Oh, nice. . . . Bob's a dandy with the enclitics. Mind your enclitics and the verbs will look after themselves. . . .

"But what's this? Two false concords in

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one over. . . . The umpire is watching you, Bob. . . . Oh, a rotten stroke. Bob's out. One wicket for twelve marks. . . . This will never do. . . ."

Almost the sole effort of the Olympic Committee to justify their right to revive these Greek games is an occasional sentimental reference in after-dinner speeches to the truce which was preserved throughout Greece during the Olympic festivals. This is the sort of thing which, in the genial atmosphere engendered by a good dinner, is sometimes mistaken for (a) thought and (b) humor.

"It has often occurred to me that if only our politicians could be persuaded to leave a certain Assembly which shall be nameless [laughter] and join in these games, not as competitors, of course [loud laughter], but as onlookers, they would discover the true Locarno spirit of sport [cheers], and learn more about peace in one day at Warmesluft than in a month at Geneva [Bravo!]. The true League of Nations is the league of international sportsmen [deafening chorus of Bravos!]."

The past history of the modern Olympic Games lends some color to the view that they are valuable as a rehearsal for Armageddon. International sport helps to foster friendly relations between the sportsmen of different countries in inverse ratio to the importance of the event. The more important the event, the greater the determination of the press to treat victory as a contribution to national prestige, and the tenser the consequent atmosphere of fierce competition. As to those friendly events (such as the Anglo-Swiss University Ski Races) which undoubtedly promote good feeling between the skiers of different countries, the social consequences of such events are all to the good, but their influence on the great issue of war or peace is negligible. Young athletes will march when mobilized by their elders however friendly their personal relations with the athletes of other countries. It is not by imponderables such as these that war is averted.

"No, whatever happens, we can't fight those Ruritanians. Their skiers are such jolly good chaps. Sportsmen in every sense of the word."

Does any sane man think that some such speech as this is conceivable in a war Cabinet? "Think" is the operative word, but thought is not the operative influence in international sport.

With these thoughts in my mind I fell asleep last night. I awoke this morning from one of those vivid dreams in which one accepts everything without question. It seemed natural that the date should be 4036 A. D., that the river by whose shores I was standing should flow through Tokyo, and that I should be watching the procession of boats which inaugurated the Henley Regatta which the Japanese Emperor had recently revived. Why Henley? Well, I knew the answer to that one too.

I knew that England had been conquered by Germany some 2,000 years before, and that English ideas had not died with the British Empire. England had conquered her conquerors. English culture, which the decadent English had forgotten, had become fashionable in the German Empire. English tutors were engaged by German aristocrats, much as Greeks had been engaged by the conquering Romans. The fact that Fuhrer Adolf III had won the Diamond Sculls as a young man helped to make Henley the great fashionable event of the year. The German Empire had lasted for five centuries before Germany had been conquered by Japan.

Once again the culture of the conquered held the conquerors captive. A classical education, that is, an education of which English and German literature and philosophy were the backbone, formed an integral part of the education of the Japanese gentleman. In the forty-first century the Henley Regatta had been revived, and it was this revival which I was watching.

The procession of boats was headed by a pair of Englishmen, greeted with sympathetic cheers, and wearing Leander scarves. Naturally nobody expected England to enter an eight, and everybody thought it very sporting of the English to send two competitors for the Diamond Sculls.

The Henley Committee of Japan were more imaginative than the Olympic Committee at Garmisch. A Japanese translation of the Eton Boating Song was sung as the procession passed the Emperor, and nothing could have been more appropriate than the Henley Gold Medal with a picture of Fujiyama and the classical motto—*Die Wacht am Rhein.*

Indweller

Lonely night; so definitely alone . . .
Lonely doorsill in a lonely wood . . .
None but I comes here; none but I would,
None but I could, nor should.

There are I,
The bright butterfly, and the shadowy toad.
Only these and trees.
There is not any road,
Nor need for any road coming this far.

There is the shadowy toad,
Sombrous as the shadows are;
And the firefly, like a wandering star;
These and I.

Often the light is lost in the shadows;
Fitful the flight.
But the sound is never lost in the shadowy throat,
Abiding ever.

LeGarde S. Doughty.

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KEEP HOME CHOIRS SINGING

By STUART D. GOULDING

ONE of the very few men in New England to do more than deplore the low estate of Catholic church music is the Reverend Leo Rowlands of the Capuchin Franciscans who, in Providence, Rhode Island, has produced in three months' time an a cappela chorus of such excellence that he dares sound the key after they have finished a number to show they are true to the pitch. Popular astonishment at this feat in the initial appearance of his Cathedral Choir Club of forty mixed voices raised his chorus overnight from utter obscurity to a favored place among the leading musical organizations in this ancient and musically inclined Eastern city.

Father Rowlands is less concerned with immediate and out-of-the-church popularity, however, than he is with the excellence of the choir and its inherent power for good in the field of liturgical music. Ultimately he hopes to see fostered in his own diocese and in other dioceses other clubs like this. He understands very well the obstacles, but he also has a moving faith in American Catholics, and finds in them the voices, mental equipment and enthusiasm to master the liturgical masters.

His own background peculiarly fits him for his work. Of Welsh parentage he grew up among a song-loving people and was educated at the University of Wales where he majored in music. After four years' fighting in the World War he returned to England to teach music, but after a year entered a Franciscan monastery and was ordained a priest in 1926. While most of his time as a Franciscan Father is occupied with missions and retreats, he still pursues music assiduously and early in this year was granted permission by his Bishop to lecture widely and organize a chorus.

After eighteen rehearsals he gave a concert. The singing was unaccompanied. Throughout Father Rowlands directed his group with a minimum of gestures, standing as unobtrusively as possible in the background. The program began with Palestrina's Mass, "Aeterna Christi Munera," which was followed by a Holy Week group of motets, "O Sacrem Convivium" by Croce, Palestrina's "Tenebrae Facta Sunt," and Porta's "Regina Coeli." Peter Philips's "O Virum Mirabilium" and William Byrd's "Salve Regina" were followed by Orlando Gibbons's delightfully gay madrigal, "The Silver Swan." Interspersed were the songs of a soloist, of course. In the concluding numbers the chorus sang, "Mylecharaine," Manx folk song; "Verse of Hate," by Father Rowlands; "My Love Dwelt in a Northern Land," by Elgar; and Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Comes Kolyada."

Any chorus which can win unstinted praise after so few rehearsals in works as diversified as these is a chorus to watch. It is a long way from Rimsky-Korsakoff to Palestrina, from William Byrd to Gibbons. Madrigals are one thing, Palestrina's celestial music altogether different. Yet Father Rowlands believes his accomplishment can be duplicated. His methods bear scrutiny. The essential is an insistence on the best music.

Father Rowlands selected singers on the basis of their love for music, the quality of their voices and their willingness to learn. It was assumed, of course, that they could read music but great technical training was not required.

To show that simple music can also be fine music Father Rowlands had his chorus sing at their first rehearsal Cardinal Newman's great hymn, "Abide with Me." To get them into the mood of polyphony he started them off on that simplest of rounds, "Three Blind Mice." From these he jumped at once into Gibbons's madrigal, "The Silver Swan," and they sang it, not perfectly but not haltingly. After a few experiments in singing Father Rowlands sounded the key after a number and the chorus's last note rang true to pitch. He told his chorus that there was no reason why everything they sang, though it was unaccompanied, should not end in true pitch. This they achieved.

In three short months Father Rowlands took average choir singers used to very ordinary composers and made them explore the works of the greatest of composers and sing their works in public to win the plaudits of an audience highly critical and composed in large measure of musicians and teachers both Catholic and non-Catholic.

Proud of his singers, Father Rowlands declines to take overmuch credit to himself. He refuses, moreover, to be critical of music commonly heard in our churches, and denies that congregations are unreceptive to good music well sung. He desires his chorus members to train others as he has trained them, and wants to see liturgical music generally improved. Tremendously enthusiastic he has infected others with his enthusiasm. He wishes to improve secular as well as liturgical singing, and believes the two can and should go hand in hand. He feels that while boy and men choirs represent an ideal in the field of liturgical music that boy voices last too short a time to make immediate concentration in this field practicable. A realist, he believes that men and women can and must be trained to give the best in music. He would like to have entire congregations sing the entire Mass. This he sees as an ideal though not possible of immediate achievement. Good men and women choirs in every Catholic church he believes not only practicable but absolutely vital. He encourages Gregorian but feels that it will be a long time before congregations can accept it in its entirety. So he works to build choirs that will sing the masters of church music, believing that everyone will find them acceptable.

Certainly no faith is as rich as our Catholic faith in music. Certainly no greater music has ever been written than has been written for the Mass. Yet as certainly no worse singing is to be heard anywhere than in our Catholic churches. Perhaps from Father Rowland's inspiration and teaching may come a movement long overdue in America. Other great movements in history have been the production of a single mind. No reason exists why this should not grow. Like other motivators of movements Father Rowlands is entirely absorbed in his task, seeks no credit for himself. It will be a great joy to the entire Church if he succeeds, for nothing quite so much elevates worship as the human voice lifted in song.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—The French Association of Former Priest Combatants has arranged a pilgrimage of World War veterans to pray for peace at the Shrine of Our Lady at Lourdes toward the middle of next month. This pilgrimage, which has the encouragement and blessing of the Holy Father, is expected to attract 100,000 ex-soldiers of the Allies and Central Powers. * * * More than 400,000 persons visited the Basilica of Our Lady of Victory at Lackawanna, New York, to pay a final tribute to Monsignor Nelson H. Baker, "Padre of the Poor," who died July 29 in his ninety-sixth year. * * * The state of Nayarit, Mexico, which has been without religious services for more than a year, is reported to have modified its anti-religious laws to permit twenty priests to officiate, in response to Catholic petitions. * * * The cartoon feature, "Strange But True," a part of the picture service of the N.C.W.C., is observing its fifth anniversary. This series of graphic representations of Catholic facts not generally known appears in forty American and foreign papers and reaches 2,000,000 people a week. * * * The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda has issued two decrees for Japan and Manchukuo permitting Christians under carefully defined conditions to participate in quasi-religious ceremonies of Shinto and Confucian origin, which signify loyalty to their country or the politeness and mutual affection of social life. * * * On July 26, the feast of Saint Anne, Mother of the Blessed Virgin, 125 Masses celebrated at the Shrine of St. Anne de Beaupré, near Quebec, Canada, were attended by nearly 50,000 persons, over 30,000 of whom received Holy Communion. * * * The Most Reverend Celso Costantini, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, has left Rome for Denmark to make final arrangements for the establishment of a seminary at Ordrup which will prepare native priests for the missions of Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, Norway and Finland. * * * St. Raphael's Society of Bremen, Germany, reports that during the past year more than 5,000 Masses attended by 45,000 persons were said on German steamers at sea.

The Nation.—Colonel Knox's speech accepting the Republican nomination for the vice-presidency was generally considered a vigorous statement of a more fervently anti-New Deal position than his running-mate has chosen to take. The issue, he asserted, is the "preservation of free enterprise" from "hysterical" New Deal experiments, "abuse and vilification of business men," "credit adulteration . . . sectional hatred and class strife," the "spoils system" and an "economic philosophy of scarcity." * * * President Roosevelt expressed resentment that his projected trip to the drought region was labeled by John D. M. Hamilton as political. The drought is certainly serious. The AAA has classified 756 counties in 19 states as emergency drought areas. The world's corn crop is estimated at 900,000,000 bushels below normal. The WPA has already hired 40,000 farmers for relief work and has authorized the employment of 89,000. The RA, becoming the chief drought relief agency, is financing 32,000 families and expects this figure will rise to 125,000 before the season is over. * * * Governor Landon's letter in reply to Norman Thomas's query on his union labor stand put him on record as favoring "the right to send in an organizer." The pro-Roosevelt labor forces were not completely satisfied, however, claiming that more than a negative approach to the labor organization problem is necessary. They believe positive laws to prevent company interference in union activities are needed and are not proposed by the Republicans. * * * The People's party of the Right-wing socialists voted to affiliate with the American Labor party which is mobilizing union support for an independent party which shall support Roosevelt this year. This party is definitely working to establish itself on a national basis, something like the British Labor party, and commentators predicted it will offer John L. Lewis as presidential nominee in 1940. * * * The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has made good deposits of $9,943,085 held by the public in banks which failed. Between January 1, 1934, and June 30, 1936, sixty-one insured banks failed, and of their 66,035 depositors, only 306 had accounts which were not fully protected. The FDIC itself has developed a surplus of $34,482,918 in conducting its business. On June 30, 14,118 banks were insured.

The Wide World.—Spanish rebel forces were making slow progress with a movement to encircle Madrid, owing largely to the failure of General Franco to maintain contact with Morocco. Loyalist warships were particularly effective at Ceuta. As a consequence his troops were fighting a desperate and often a losing battle in southeastern Spain. The north, on the other hand, was for the time being pretty generally under rebel control from Catalonia to the sea coast, excepting for local Loyalist strongholds north and west of Burgos. Claims that insurgent armies had pushed through some mountain passes north of Madrid were denied. Both sides appeared ready to admit that the struggle might prove long and bitter. The Spanish government proceeded with legislation to confiscate property, the primary target being churches and religious foundations. Absurd reports of huge wealth unearthed were broadcast, evidently with the intention of fostering class feeling and therewith resistance. * * * International complications growing out of the conflict were numerous. A request to other European powers for a common declaration of neutrality was issued by the French government, following identification of two Italian planes forced down in French North Africa on July 30. It was asserted that Britain was inclined to support the French move. Barring a neutrality declaration, the Blum Cabinet reserved the right to supply arms to Spanish loyalists. Still more sensational news was given out on August 4, when a Chicago

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Tribune reporter declared that nine Italian planes and their crews had enlisted in General Franco's foreign legion. Another dispatch indicated that the German cruiser Deutschland had arrived at Ceuta and was screening that town from bombardment by a Spanish warship. In Moscow a mass meeting in Red Square pledged the support of Russia's workers to Spain's "popular government," and attacked Germany and Italy. On August 4, Secretary Cordell Hull issued a note warning Americans resident in Spain that if conditions grew any worse rescue work might become impossible. He added, however, that the government would make every effort to afford protection. * * * Chancellor Adolf Hitler presided at the opening of the Olympic Games on August 1. Huge throngs witnessed the ceremony. Brilliant performances by American Negroes added to the gaiety of the occasion. * * * Qualified acceptance by Germany of a bid to a new Locarno Conference added to British pessimism. It was felt that insistence upon "preliminary talks" must be interpreted as unwillingness to bind the German government to anything while the general European situation remains unsettled.

* * * *

Dual Unionism.—The trial of the twelve unions which make up the Committee for Industrial Organization before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor produced a long and impassioned denunciation by the "prosecutor," John P. Frey, president of the metal trades department, and no defense, because the CIO has taken the line that the trial is itself improper and none of its representatives appeared. This controversy is receiving greater publicity than any American intra-labor strife in recent times because a dual union set-up, which might well follow an impasse, is in general bad for everybody: politicians, industrialists, revolutionists and all types of workers. When there is dual organization, no one knows what collective bargain can stick without bringing strikes, walk-outs, picketing, scabbing and so forth. The possibility presented to employers to eliminate outside unions by playing labor organizations against each other is usually considered not to compensate for the anarchy involved in such a situation. Before the Executive Council's final decision, President Green summed up for the newspapers the charges and possible penalties: The CIO is a dual organization functioning as a rival to the A. F. of L. It was organized to foster a dual organization and was guilty of fomenting insurrection in the A. F. of L. In forming the CIO, the affiliated unions were guilty of a breach of contract with the A. F. of L. Violation of the decision of the Atlantic City convention of the federation and of the federation's constitution constituted rebellion against the policy adopted by majority vote at the convention. The possible penalties were given as: individual or collective suspensions for indefinite periods; suspension for a limited period, with certain rights retained by the suspended unions; suspension of the exercise of all rights and privileges for a definite or indefinite period; imposition of a fine or penalty on the guilty unions; finding of a verdict of guilty with an admonition to discontinue the condemned activity, but with no further punishment. The Council finally voted 13 to 1 that ten of the CIO unions be suspended from the A. F. of L. on September 5, unless they have withdrawn by then from the CIO.

From the Catholic Front.—Daily incidents reveal the pressure under which Catholics have been living in many parts of an unsettled and turbulent Europe. A few have been selected at random. In Muenster, Westphalia, the "great procession" which is held annually during July found thousands of Catholics assembled. But this year no government buildings were decorated. As a matter of fact, the police roped off a good part of the square in front of the cathedral and mounted guard. Bishop Von Galen mounted the pulpit and protested bitterly against this action. He said that the object of the police action was to prevent the faithful from accompanying their bishop to his residence, according to ancient custom, and counseled all to offer no resistance—because upon a previous occasion many had been beaten and imprisoned. In Danzig the great crucifix before the church at Mitterswalde was desecrated. The corpus was found battered in a heap of rubbish. The cross could not be found. To what extent the religious conflict in Spain had grown bitter prior to the outbreak of the revolt may be gathered from the following handful of incidents, all reported during the early days of July. A Communist mayor in a suburb of Ciudad Real not only helped personally to burn down the principal church, but also forbade the erection of a temporary chapel to substitute for the ruined edifice. He also forbade every act of public worship, even the tolling of funeral bells. Leftist vandals destroyed the shrine of San Salvador in Selva, breaking up the images. In Madrid Catholic hospitals, active during more than a hundred years, have been systematically taken away from the nuns. One instance saw the nuns of "La Inclusa" compelled to leave in four hours, without permission to take their belongings with them. Even in France there were indications of deadly anti-religious passion. In one village in Drome young Leftists entered the church during a Vesper service. They carried a red flag into the sanctuary and there intoned the "Internationale." But in this instance the government took prompt action to punish the disturbers. These incidents give some indication of the true situation.

Celebrating Amity.—The long peaceful relations between the United States and Canada, by their very uneventfulness more difficult to celebrate than feats of war, were given a measure of praise on the occasion of President Roosevelt's recent visit to Canada. He was the guest of the Governor General, Lord Tweedsmuir, at Quebec. This was the first official visit by a President of the United States to Canada. That the two countries should have lived for generations side by side with perfect amity, said the Governor General, was an example to all the world. Premier MacKenzie King dwelt on the fact that for more than a century there has not been a fortification between them except as a relic of the past. "The place of armaments on land and water," he said, "has been taken by international parks and bridges, expressive not of fear, suspicion or hate, but of international peace, friend-

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ship and good-will. . . . This unfortified frontier speaks to the world not of differences, but of what is held in common; not of the passions of nations, but of their virtues; not of the devastation and desolation of war, but of the beauty and blessings of peace. . . . So long as nations strive to advance their separate aims by force, rather than their common ends by reason and cooperation, so long will war be inevitable and the fear of war continue to make of science and industry a vast machine to further the destruction of humanity." President Roosevelt spoke of the constant exchange of visits without passports of natives of the United States and Canada, and of the trade agreement concluded with the Prime Minister last fall, as tangible evidences of the desire of the two peoples to be good neighbors. He also made a short speech in French to the French-speaking Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec and the Mayor of the city.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—A conference and retreat will be held at Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, September 8 and 9, as a final preparation for the National Preaching Mission sponsored by the Department of Evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches. This mission, which will extend from September 13 to December 9, will be conducted by outstanding ministers and laymen in twenty-five cities in every section of the country. Foreign religious leaders participating include Dr. E. Stanley Jones of India, Principal John S. Whale of Cambridge, England, and Dr. T. Z. Koo of China. * * * The United States had the largest delegation at the Twelfth World's Sunday School Convention at Oslo, Norway, last month. It was reported that "the Sunday schools of the world enroll 34,000,000 pupils" including about one-third of the 62,000,000 Protestant Christian children under fourteen years of age. It is reported in the News Bulletin of the National Lutheran Council that one Thomas Viggers of Rockaway, Oregon, has attended Sunday school without fail since the day he began, at the age of two, ninety years ago. * * * Identical letters signed by Reverend James Myers, Industrial Secretary of the Department of the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches, Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, chairman of the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and Reverend R. A. McGowan, assistant director of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, called upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization "to work out your differences and plot the future of American labor unitedly." The letters expressed "confidence that a wise and friendly decision" would be reached.

The Strong Man in Greece.—Faced by the call for a general strike in Greece that would have been a culmination of politico-economic unrest there which has resulted in a steadily increasing number of strikes and clashes between strikers, the police and the army, in which more than a score have been killed and 250 wounded, Premier General John Metaxas dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and proclaimed martial law. The Greek Labor Federation had issued a call for a twenty-four-hour general strike as a protest against a recent law fixing a minimum wage scale and subjecting labor bargaining to compulsory arbitration. Communists are alleged to head the labor movement and Premier Metaxas, as head of the army and the strong man of the Royalists who have been in power since the return of King George II to Athens last November, is an arch-foe of Communists. The series of Greek strikes have been paralleled by Communist strikes in neighboring Bulgaria which the Greek government believed to be directed from the Soviet Union and which they feared would engulf the Balkans in some general upheaval. Although General Metaxas, a student of military science in Berlin from 1899 to 1903, as head of the Free Thinkers-Royalist party controls only seven of the 300 seats in the Greek Chamber, he holds the portfolios of Minister for War, Navy, Air and Foreign Affairs, besides the Premiership. He became Minister of War the first of this year, when Premier Constantine Demerdjis appointed him to reorganize the army and stamp out communistic advances. When Venizelos, Demerdjis and former Premier Kondylis all died this spring, General Metaxas emerged definitely as the strong man of Greece and the right arm of the King.

Cooperative Experiment.—On August 2, at Hightstown, New Jersey, a celebration was held to mark the opening of Jersey Homesteads, the decentralized farm-industry project built under the egis of the Resettlement Administration. The modern women's clothing factory, 100 by 220 feet large, constructed for $95,000 by the RA, was the scene of the fashion parade and speeches. Eight of the 200 projected houses were occupied, and twenty-seven were nearly finished. Harvesting was going on at the cooperative farm which is integrated into the industrial scheme, and the first year's profits from the 100 acres of potatoes, 50 acres of wheat, 27 acres of hay, 50 acres of tomatoes and 40 acres of apple trees were estimated at $15,000. An organization of the residents of the community called the Workers and Cooperative Association will operate the factory, and the sales company will be called the Tripod Cloak and Suit Company. Members of the new community are all chosen from competent workers in metropolitan New York, and every family must put up an initial $500 investment. The Tripod Company already has so many orders on hand that the association has been running a temporary factory in New York and has arranged to run the Hightstown factory with ninety-two workers before their homes can be completed at Jersey Homesteads. Benjamin Brown, chief motivator of the project, explained the significance of the name, Tripod: "This stands for three types of cooperation—cooperation by agriculturists, cooperation by industrialists and cooperation by consumers. On this tripod will we not only bring back craftsmanship and pride of achievement, together with security, but we will bring back prosperity based on abundance and not on curtailment." Mr. Brown maintained that the cooperative village was in close harmony with the thought and principles of the framers of the Constitution and was based on no other ism than "common sense-ism."

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The Play and Screen

Help Yourself

THE FEDERAL THEATRE has at last showed that it too can be frivolous. Frankly its frivolity is more successful than its serious moments, at least when these moments are directed toward propaganda of the Left. "Help Yourself" is no bore, and the WPA propaganda plays have been just that. The trouble is that our socially minded writers for the theatre as a rule do not seem to have learned their craft. Now the Viennese author of "Help Yourself," Paul Vulpius, never for an instant forgot the theatre, and his American adapter, John J. Coman, has followed in his footsteps. The result is a really amusing farce, which has no relation to life perhaps, but certainly makes life easier for those who attend the performances at the Manhattan Theatre.

The plot is simple. A young man out of a job enters a bank and proceeds to ensconce himself there by inventing an imaginary project which he persuades the bank officials and other financiers they have already entered into. The Kupketsky Affair, which originally existed only in the mind of the brash young man, soon becomes real, and the brash young man ends by being appointed the general manager of the Kupketsky plant and marrying the daughter of the bank president. This is in the true tradition of continental farce, but Mr. Coman has skilfully rearranged its locale and made most of the characters American to the core. Of course Christopher Stringer, the name of the imaginative young man, is not and never could be American—or at least never could have been until 1929.

The large audience, despite the heat and the poor acoustics of the theatre, laughed uproariously at the farce. Indeed, if the second and third acts had been as funny as the first, "Help Yourself" might well be running when the heat wave comes around again next year. Perhaps it will anyhow.

The staging and the acting are excellent. Curt Bois, a German refugee actor, is hilarious as Stringer, though he should learn to speak English more clearly, especially in as large a house as the Manhattan. George LeSoir as the president of the bank, Walter Burke as Stringer's bank-clerk friend, Peggy Danforth as the girl, Edward Forbes as the chairman of the board of directors, George Probert as the porter and Doan Borup as another banker are also quite in the picture. In short, "Help Yourself" is admirable warm weather fare. (At the Manhattan Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Anthony Adverse

FILMING of "Anthony Adverse" was preceded by no little speculation concerning the daring moral tones of substantial parts of the source novel by Hervey Allen, and by frank scepticism over the risk that threatened in properly and sufficiently applying the many-sided essentials of the unusually voluminous manuscript to a scenario that would be consistent with the original. The trepidations, however, are now found to have been unnecessary, for "Anthony Adverse" emerges triumphantly from Hollywood's workshops retaining the full, vigorous dramatic essence of the original, a tribute both to sincere dignity of treatment and to courage, intelligence and perseverence. It stands as a beacon to an advanced technique of expert photoplay construction. There is a straightforward move to the climax that is complete even though omissions were deftly made—with no sacrifice—of the more sensational episodes which the author accentuated in his book.

Aside from any literary qualities, the original printed document gained considerable attention through its unconventional length of 1,224 pages. The motion picture translation is comparatively consistent in this respect, running more than twice the length of the average film, requiring two and one-half hours to play the 414 scenes, taken on 131 studio sets, representing five countries on three continents which span its chronology of twenty-six years in the eighteenth-century setting. Remarkably, ninety-eight speaking parts are placed in strict conformity with the original characters of the book. Every part is well taken and each blends into the whole, though Frederic March, Olivia de Havilland, Edmund Gwenn and Anita Louise stand out brilliantly.

Through this involved network the play wears better on the spectator than did the trying length of the book on its readers, many as they were. Director Mervyn LeRoy seemingly overcame great difficulties in welding the many-sided novel into a unified whole, although it is quite apparent that Mr. LeRoy adhered strictly to the process of fabricating finely divided sequences, all of them powerful, tracing the story of Anthony's birth, a child of love and passion beyond the pale, to his boyhood in a convent school, his apprenticeship to Merchant Bonnyfeather, who knows the child is his daughter's son, then moving to the beautiful love of Anthony and Angela, to his visit to Cuba and Africa, as a beast-like slavetrader, and, finally, his return home to find his Angela the paramour of Napoleon. Rare, indeed, is the well-rounded quality of this symphony of living romantic drama. Neither discord nor domination is noticeable as the brilliant tonings of the acting, direction and staging are harmonized masterfully.

The settings, by Impressionist Anton Grot, are exquisitely beautiful, complementing and at the same time interpreting the theme. Their spell lingers long after they pass. The imaginative quality of Tony Guadio's photography is almost lacelike as the lights and shadows intertwine around the life, the love and the laughter in this story of the emergence triumphantly of a man's soul after piercing unpleasantries and biting experiences. Few motion picture versions of any book so faithfully portray the characters, scenes and atmosphere as they are envisioned by a reader before filming.

Erich Wolfgang Korngold, who adapted Mendelssohn's music to "A Midsummer Night's Dream" for the identical producers, Warner Brothers, now weaves through "Anthony Adverse" a score that never misses a beat either in mood or spirit; it is music that highlights the emotions and colors the scenes, yet never obtrudes itself.

The Legion of Decency's rating is for the mature: "Class A—Section II—Unobjectionable for Adults."

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Communications

WHAT ABOUT THE JOBLESS?

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: The striking thing about the article in the May 1 issue by John Collins, "What about the Jobless?" is his omission of reference to the very solid wall that blocks any foray of activity into the field of building construction; and that repulsive wall is the insistence of building trade mechanics on a wage scale utterly out of line with all other service costs and the excessive costs of building materials in which a monopoly price prevails.

I have no knowledge of what wage rates are being paid to those mechanics who are performing the petty reconstruction work he refers to, but it is a safe gamble to bet that they are not getting what they call the "prevailing wage" of $1.37½ for carpenters and $1.50 per hour for bricklayers, etc., for the very obvious reason that the promoters of these projects cannot afford it; such an investment would be disastrous. When the income of most of us has been cut 50 per cent how can we afford to pay a wage that has only been reduced 20 percent from pre-depression levels?

While real estate is down about one half, wages and materials are at almost an all-time peak.

The Wagner Housing bill very properly recognizes this obstacle to widespread building activity and proposes a federal grant of 45 percent of the cost of the work; a clear imposition on the country that is without reason and is a vicious example of class legislation.

Louis Horowitz the builder reports in the *Saturday Evening Post* a conversation with Donald Richberg when that gentleman was in power, wherein he observed that if skilled labor would accept a wage of $1 per hour the building industry would revive in a big way. Mr. Richberg replied that such a course would be dangerous politically and perhaps economically. The first objection is clear but the second is somewhat opaque. Pressure group government is running the country into a cul-de-sac. Why tinker, Mr. Collins, with the spigot when the waste is at the bung hole?

PONTIFEX.

WASHINGTON AND MEXICO

Talihina, Okla.

TO the Editor: News dispatches of July 1 tell of "Vice-President Garner and Mexican dignitaries joining hands in an international expression of friendship." And after repeating some remarks of Mr. Garner the dispatch continues: "The United States representative said Mexico had made 'invaluable contributions to the progress of civilization.'"

At last the red-handed thieves and murderers ruling Mexico have obtained the official public acknowledgment and endorsement from Washington they have long sought. The outstanding accomplishment of the Mexican bandit government régime has been the crushing of religion and the enforced teaching of atheism. Churches are closed and often their interiors wrecked. Many date from the seventeenth century and equal architectural and decorative works of art that American tourists go to Europe to study and admire. Many states admit no priests whatever, others limit the number to one or two, or some equally ridiculous proportion. To shelter a priest, and especially a bishop, exposes a houseowner to the confiscation of his property, which is done at the caprice of some criminal official from whose act there is no appeal. Even to be suspected of teaching the Lord's Prayer to a child may cause a like confiscation of property.

The men now ruling Mexico are socially, morally and intellectually on a par with the gangsters that in the United States form the most vicious criminal element. Allied with crooked politicians, crooked lawyers and crooked hangers-on, they are in possession of the government. They form but a very small minority, but they control the military forces, have the arms and organization, and enjoy the favor of the United States government.

The detailed horrors committed by these thieves and murderers, as their "invaluable contributions to the progress of civilization"—as "the United States representative" expresses it—may be found set forth at length in "Red Mexico," by Captain Francis McCullagh, and still further elucidated in "Blood-drenched Altars," by Bishop Francis Clement Kelley. The shocked reader of Captain McCullagh's work will agree that the term "thieves and murderers" is abundantly justified.

It is bad enough to have as neighbor a government so brutally savage and murderous and atheistic as that now tyrannizing over Mexico, but it becomes intolerable when a "United States representative" endorses such a government, officially, publicly and shamelessly.

EBER COLE BYAM.

A PORTRAIT OF IRVING BABBITT

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: For the splendid pen picture of Irving Babbitt one must be grateful to its author if only to keep alive what Babbitt and his colleagues stood for with the hope that their books may still turn men's thoughts (especially those outside the fold) to fundamentals.

Would that our "leaders" had spent pre-convention days reading Maritain, Mercier of Louvain, Mercier of Harvard, Dawson, Chesterton, More, Foerster, Richards, to mention but a few. Perhaps we would not have been treated to well-rehearsed shows in place of discussions of sane principles, or have had platforms railroaded through for the good of parties instead of for the good of the country. Europe of course is getting nowhere with its grim-faced Hitlers, Mussolinis, Lenins, but the fact that our leaders take it smiling, or grinning one should say, does not prove that they know where they are going. Do we wonder that those who by ability should be our guides are in hiding or that the occasional man of fine caliber in public life must have or develop a thick skin and a very evident sense of humor.

COMMONWEAL's work in shedding the light cannot be overestimated.

S. UNSER.

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Books

What Does a Man Think?

Democratic Despotism, by Raoul E. Desvernine. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.00.

THIS book is a clear admission of the fact that the major problem before us today is not the differences between political parties, but the political philosophy which the people itself is ready to espouse. Mr. Desvernine has made a valuable contribution to the current debate by bringing forcibly to our attention the necessity of a philosophy of government and the importance of scrutinizing a party's thought before we examine its candidates. On his showing, it was the New Deal which has thus brought us back to ancient realities, after the false maneuverings of several decades of party strife.

His book falls roughly into three parts. In the first, he sets forth the ideal of Americanism, as expressed in the Declaration and the Constitution. He then goes on to examine the "New Despotisms," Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler and Kemel, and rightly sees in them all a common attack on political and economic liberty through their common exaltation of the State at the expense of the citizen. The third part is an attempt by the author to identify the principles of the New Deal with these new despotisms.

By far the most valuable part of the book is the first, and we must thank Mr. Desvernine for having so clearly brought back to our attention the nature of the federal government as one of delegated powers, itself divided into three separate and coordinate functions, of the states as natural sovereignties, with only some of their innate powers withdrawn by the Constitution, and of the Supreme Court, which while deviating within certain limits, has never departed from its firm support of the purely federal nature of the government and of the tri-partite division of it. Mr. Desvernine, however, will not find support in his statements that all government has only such powers as the people are willing to grant it (he himself quotes the Court as saying that the states have "all the powers of government," except such as the people have delegated to the federal government) or that the Fathers of the Constitution or even Jefferson derived any of their philosophy from the French Revolution. Recent research, especially at the department of political philosophy at Fordham University, has unanswerably shown that James Madison and James Wilson, the real authors of the Constitution, were anything but followers of Rousseau. In fact, it is the philosophy of the omnipotent State, which Mr. Desvernine is combating, not American constitutionalism, that evolved from the French Revolution. This erroneous tradition vitiates much of his thought and is responsible for considerable contradictions. In the main, however, Mr. Desvernine's demonstration is good and is especially valuable at the present time.

He is not so happy, however, in his attempt to make out the New Deal as a hidden attempt to fasten the philosophy of the omnipotent state on the American people. In order to do this, he is forced to the expedient of taking the relatively mild democratic verbiage of the major and

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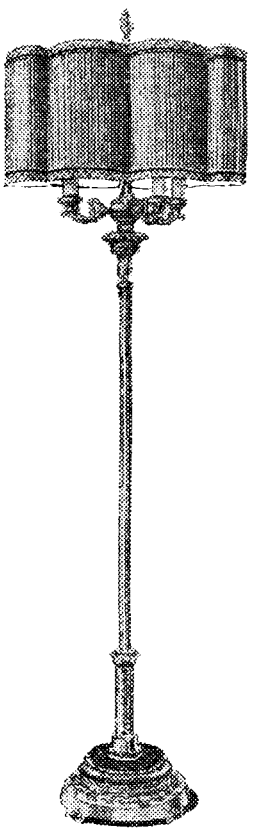

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minor prophets of the New Deal and assure us that they mean something quite the opposite, without very much proof of that. At the most, they come to a demand for more government supervision of economic processes, a thing now, since the Cleveland convention, demanded by all political parties, and a position quite in consonance with the social encyclicals of the Popes. He triumphs, of course, and rightly, in the adverse decisions that the New Deal has met from the Supreme Court in its attempts to translate this idea into practise. It is one thing, however, to show that a given law violates the Constitution and another that it flows from a false philosophy.

The book, of course, was written both before the minimum-wage decision and Governor Landon's addition to the Republican platform in favor of a constitutional amendment on wages, and it is not fair in a reviewer to decide what kind of a book an author should have written and then berate him for not having done just that. But it is in order to suggest that Mr. Desvernine would have made a more valuable contribution to our problems had he told us his own opinions about how under the Constitution we are to rectify our present undue concentration of wealth and the concomitant exploitation of the non-privileged. That, after all, is the real heart of the problem that faces us. There is no hope for us if the Americanism he so clearly outlines is incompatible with social justice.

WILFRID PARSONS.

Training for Citizenship

Effective Citizenship, by Millard S. Darling and Benjamin B. Greenberg. New York: Prentice Hall. $1.40.

FOR DECADES the terms "citizenship," "civics" and "patriotism" have been held to be synonymous in this country. We have striven to make our people better patriots rather than better citizens. But one day the veneer wore off and we found that the lip-service to our flag and country covered an ignorance of our problems, an appalling lack of knowledge about our government, and an absolute lack of contact with any of its functions as they related to our personal lives. It was a rude shock when we found the seeds of Americanism sprouting into plants of isms opposed to the mother stock.

And yet, in a sense, it was quite logical. These plants had been blown this way and that by the winds because they had lacked that inherent element of strength that came from seedlings that had been prepared for these winds. To convert this figure of speech into fact, our schools had not fully prepared our adolescent youth to combat the problems that were to face them in the world of action and conflict. Our students knew civics but they did not know how to act as citizens.

In this wise had this generation grown up. It had been taught the form of government but not its functions. And now this book has appeared upon the market presenting the problems arising in a democracy in a stirring and real, and above everything else, personal manner. It does not present citizenship as legislative, executive and judicial departments; instead it resolves civics into questions of

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character and personality, of occupational problems, of crime, of poverty, of community needs such as slum clearance and better housing. The authors have made their subject vivid. They have weighed a democracy as one form of government by comparing it with the governments of Europe and they have not found it wanting.

Essentially designed as a textbook, this volume well merits the time of the layman and the non-student. It provokes thought and invites honest criticism of existing relief, curing and preventive programs. It is a frank, fearless volume that neither equivocates nor propagandizes. It seeks to build faith in our government, a faith resting on intelligence and understanding. And for such a purpose, this book is sorely needed in these days of doubt and superficial knowledge.

HAROLD FIELDS.

Aspects of Israel

The Founder of the House, by Naomi Jacob. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

READERS of Naomi Jacob's "Four Generations" will welcome this new novel, the central figure of which is the first of the Gollantz family in England.

Essentially a good story with ample interplay of characters, plot and setting, "The Founder of the House" still impresses one as a novel with a thesis. Pride in Jewish mental attainments, in Jewish honesty and business integrity, in short, pride of race, is the thing most stressed in the training of the two youths whose careers form the framework of the record. Especially to be noted in this connection are the passages in which old Fernando Meldola gives his fine appraisal of his people, his wise advice to his nephew Hermann; and later Hermann's splendid idealism in his training of his son Emmanuel. And here and there one finds a touch of the bitterness of the Jew.

The story opens in Paris in 1796 when Fernando Meldola, collector and dealer in antiques and *objets d'art,* sends to his native Italy for his young niece Miriam to share his French home with him. It carries the reader through the account of Miriam's marriage with Abraham Gollantz, of their son Hermann's doings in Paris, of the removal of the business and the family to Vienna, of Hermann's love affairs, his marriage, his trials brought about by an unscrupulous brother-in-law, the youth of Hermann's son Emmanuel, that young man's numerous *amours,* and finally his removal to London and his marriage there in the late 1860's. A heritage of taste and business acumen bring to Emmanuel his great success in England. He becomes the founder of the house of Gollantz.

Miss Jacob's characters are generally well drawn, the best being those to whom she gives the strain of idealism. In old Meldola and in Hermann one meets a rare beauty of living expressing itself in innate fineness, tact, gracious manners and a deep sense of responsibility and duty to others. The author succeeds in keeping the reader's interest even in the face of occasionally forced situations and too obvious preparation for events.

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Protestantism Surveyed

The Church through Half a Century. Essays in Honor of William Adams Brown; edited by Samuel McCrea Cavert and Henry Pitney Van Dusen. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.00.

DR. BROWN'S retirement from an active professorship in Union Theological Seminary induced some of his friends and students to compile a volume which in addition to supplying biographical material would offer a survey of Protestant development in the United States during the recent past. The essays are surprisingly even in quality, and we believe the book provides a temperately written and often most illuminating introduction to American Protestant thought. They merit intelligent reading by Catholic scholars. The present reviewer noted with especial favor Dr. W. H. Horton's treatment of "Science and Theology," and Dr. H. S. Coffin's discussion of "Public Worship." It must be added that the point of view, preeminently scholarly, represents not the average clergyman, but part of the flower of the flock.

A Terse Prophet

Easy Essays, by Peter Maurin. New York: Sheed and Ward. $.75.

THIS beautifully produced collection of Peter Maurin's *Catholic Worker* essays, illustrated with Adé de Béthune's impressive and beautiful cuts, is as shocking a book as booksellers will be offering this year. The things are said in a completely individual form that is rather a blend of extended slogan and free verse. They have been repeated in speech until they have achieved the quality of spoken literature, a wise kind of folk quality which many intellectual poets seek but fail to get because they have not the philosophy and do not live the kind of lives that permit it. Peter Maurin is a Communitarian: "A Communitarian is a fellow who refuses to be what the other fellow is and tries to be what he wants him to be." This radical Christian theme is carried into the fields of leadership, history, usury, mercy, Marxism, agrarianism, business, disarmament; and everywhere the definiteness of the Christian expression and the connotations which the author rigidly restrains himself from uttering but which are nevertheless threateningly present, instruct and inspire the reader. The essays show a good part of the bare and hard foundation Christians in the world must work to build upon.

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